

National Question in Central Europe

Democratic Responses to Unresolved National and Ethnic Conflicts



International Conference 22–24. 03. 2013

National question in Central Europe:

Democratic responses to unresolved national and ethnic conflicts

International Conference - 22–24 March, 2013

Editor | András Lőrincz

Published by | Institute for Cultural Relations Policy

Executive Publisher | Csilla Morauszki

ICRP Geopolitika Kft., Gyöngyösi u. 45., Budapest

<http://culturalrelations.org>

institute@culturalrelations.org

ISBN 978-615-5432-00-2

© ICRP 2013.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means: electronic, electrostatic, magnetic type, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without written permission from the copyright holders.

ICRP INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE



NATIONAL QUESTION IN CENTRAL EUROPE:

DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES TO UNRESOLVED NATIONAL AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS

BUDAPEST, 22–24 MARCH 2013

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS



Institute for Cultural Relations Policy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	5
KEYNOTE SPEAKERS' PAPERS	
OLGA GYÁRFÁŠOVÁ: <i>A Pladoyer for Diversity – National Identity Questions, and Ethnic Minority Issues Instrumentalised by Politics</i>	6
LIA POP: <i>Roma people in the Romanian national elections, 2012</i>	19
ETHNIC MINORITY ISSUES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE	
DADIANA CHIRAN: <i>Roma-Minority Economic Empowerment? An Analytic Assessment of the Nexus between Welfare State Efficiency and Poverty Entrapment. Perspectives from Hungary and Romania</i>	39
ALEKSANDAR RAIČ – SUZANA KUJUNDŽIĆ OSTOJIĆ: <i>Bunjevci and Croats in Serbia: Problem of democratic solution of an ignored ethnic conflict</i>	121
JUBJANA VILA: <i>Kin Ethnic Group' Mobilisation: Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia</i>	135
LULZIM MURTEZANI: <i>Prejudices as a Potential Source of Ethnic Conflicts among the Young: Strategies for Dealing with Conflict in the School Environment</i>	148
YULIYA BILETSKA: <i>"Clash of Memories": Ethic Identities and Interethnic Relations in Crimea</i>	153
NATIONAL IDENTITY QUESTION IN CENTRAL EUROPE	
DANKO ALEKSIĆ – VLADIMIR ĐORĐEVIĆ: <i>Nationality (Citizenship) vs. Ethnicity. Clash of Identities in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	155
DANIELA JAVORICS: <i>The National Question in Western Hungary around the First World War, or how People Start to Question their Identity</i>	165
SÁNDOR FÖLDVÁRI: <i>Serbian National Awakening and Enlightenment as Inspired by the West Ukrainian Cultural Centres – Transmitted through the Hungarian Kingdom in the 18th Century</i>	166
KRISTIĀNA KALNIŅA: <i>National Question of Latvian Electoral Politics after Regaining Independence</i>	180

SERBIAN NATIONAL AWAKENING AND ENLIGHTENMENT AS INSPIRED BY THE WEST UKRAINIAN CULTURAL CENTRES – TRANSMITTED THROUGH THE HUNGARIAN KINGDOM IN THE 18TH CENTURY*

Sándor Földvári

Centre of Arts, Sciences and Humanities, Baltic Studies

University of Debrecen

alexfoldvari@gmail.com

Key Words: *Serbs, Ukrainians, Habsburg Empire, Hungarian Kingdom, book trade, Balkans*

Abstract

It is a false commonplace that the ideas of enlightenment and national awakening in the 18th century came to the Slavic peoples of the Habsburg Empire as a result of the impact on the cultural life made by the thinkers, artists and scientists in Vienna, whose activities were inspired and provided by the royal court, too. This statement is only partly true but not wholly. Though the West European cultural influences also political ideas came across Vienna, this was one of the ways of transmission but not the only one. In contrary, the role and importance of the contacts between the various Slavic peoples and those living in the Habsburg Empire could not be studied in the shadows of the overvaluation was given to the impacts of Vienna. Researches made by the Institute of Ukrainian Studies named Krypiakevich in Lviv in the last two-three decades, mainly the findings of Isaievich, Iaroslav Dmitrovich, member of the Academy of Sciences, who had headed this institute for fourteen years, lead to new results in the history of the typographies and book-trade as the belles-lettres as well, therefore it became necessary to rethink the contacts between the Western territories of the recent Ukraine and the Slavic peoples of the Hungarian Kingdom. On the other hand, investigations made by the author of this paper and his predecessors and masters on the old printed liturgical books of the Byzantine rite, gave enough matter to come to the conclusions the book-trade was an important factor in the transmission of the impacts of early enlightenment came from Poland across Ukraine to the Serbs living in Hungary and on the Balkans, too. Finally, the Serbian Orthodox Church as a determining factor in the national awakening was not taken into consideration as a different from the other ones, that is, the Orthodoxy was wholly regarded but not distinguishing between the Greek and Serb churches, nor the Russian and Balkan Orthodoxy as well. Consequently, the aim of this paper is to demonstrate the contacts between the Serbs and Ukrainian territories, to evidence the book-trade between these peoples and areas, and to give some new insides into the church and national relations on the Balkans.

* * *

* The research was supported by the “Wekerle Alapkezelő” No. PC DN 11/2012/015.

Ways of acquiring the ideas of Enlightenment to the Slavic Peoples living in the Habsburg Empire

An axiom in the literature in the field of the history of culture of the eighteenth century that the contemporary West European culture, the national awakening and the enlightenment as well, the new thought of the “*siècle de Lumière*” came through Vienne. It is true partly but not entirely. Well, the capital of the Habsburg Empire was the main but not the only centre for transmitting the cultural development. As for Hungarians, the Hungarian Guards of Empress Maria Theresa was founded in 1760, and the Guardsmen-writers as György Bessenyei, the most prominent of them, also Ábrahám Barcsay, Sándor Báróczi, József Naláczi and others elaborated the programmes of change the society to an enlightened one. (For the guardsmen cf. Czigány, 1986, pp.82-83; for the comparison with Czech enlightenment and for further bibliography cf. Orosz, 1983, pp.123-125) Similarly, the Slavic elite living in Vienna as Dositej Obradović for Serbs, Jernej Kopitar for Slovenes, Jozef Dobrovský for Czech and almost all Slavic people, spent periods of their lives, respectively, in Vienna. (For Obradović in Vienna cf. Markovich, 2011; for Kopitar cf. Pogačnik, 1977 and its corrected German version, 1978; for Dobrovský and Kopitar’s contacts Jagić, 1885, 1897; for Dobrovský’s activity in Vienna Brandl, 1883; for literature on him Krbec and Laiske, 1970) However, it is to be taken into consideration the “national awakening” (the very peculiar phenomenon for this epoch, the Czech “*národní obrození*”, German “*nationale Wiedergeburt*”) was not a part of the enlightenment but a different process from that. (Pražák, 1983) While the West European nations faced the problems such as absolutism, clerical reaction, inequality in society, and famous members of the cultural elite completed the philosophical, political and sociological works, the Central and more the East European nations faced to the task of evolving the national elite. Therefore, the early enlightenment in East-Central Europe (as Winter devoted a monograph to this epoch) was the time of the birth of nations, therefore, the shaping the national elite. (Niederhauser, 1965, 1982) Thus the late baroque though being a church-determined style and thought, was a great step toward the development of the national elite at the Slavic People. Since the late baroque came more lately to these peoples, due to the Turkish occupation, the study of the liturgical books and their provenance gives some contributions of great value to the early stage of unfolding the Slavic People as the Serbs. The most important way of bringing the Slavic liturgical books was the trade with the West Ukrainian territories, were that time parts of then-Polish Kingdom. This way was another canal for the transmitting the West European culture, too, parallel to the role played by the Vienna-elite.

Differences between situations of the Serbian Church cultures in the Balkans and the Habsburg Empire

For clear understanding the problem, it is inevitable to highlight the fact the Serbs of the Habsburg Empire could far better get Slavic liturgical books and use their own language in the liturgy and church schools (that is, Church Slavonic in the mass and later Slaveno-Serb in the schools) than their brothers remained on the Balkans. As Temperley, who followed

Jireček, pointed out it already in the first decades of the last century, the dominance of the Greek phanariote elite in the Church was enough strong to oppress the Slavic national culture, the usage of Slavic languages in the schools and church, too. Consequently, the Serbian church was ruled by Greek priests and the low stratum remained for Serbian ones. (Temperley, 1917, p.123, pp.163-166; Jireček, 1876, pp.466-467) Therefore, the memories of the great past, the tradition of the independent Serbian church in Middle Ages, became a determining factor in the Serbian thought. In a result, the Serbian Orthodox Church was not so God-centred but Nation-focused and it was logical. Sorry for the literature in the field, the Serbian Orthodox Church was criticised by such great authors, too, as Ladislaus Hadrovic and some his followers, as the roman catholic Antal Molnár. (Hadrovics, 1947; Molnár, 2008) Hadrovics and those shared this one-track approach, stated the Serbian Church lost its former shine for the 17–18 centuries, in contrary to the flourishing in 12–15 cc. The popes were undereducated, analphabetic, drinking, immoral people. The church was full of superstitions and without even elementary knowledge of the axial dogmas as the Saint Trinity, the Salvation, the sanctity of the marriage, the discipline in the church, even the service. For it was a terrene of the national pride but not the Christian devotion. And so one. These statements were based mainly on the records by Franciscan monks who came from Rome and looked down the Balkan cultures not knowing the roots and circumstances of the Serbian people. Yes, the level of the church culture was not so high and the national spirit seemed to be more than it required, if one did not take into consideration the Greek oppress and the reaction for the phanariote system. The phanariots were, as well, those who served in the administration of the Ottoman Empire but remained Christians, i.e. Orthodox, and were of Greek origin, to which the name referred: Phanar/iots (the district of Constantinople, inhabited by the Greek, was named “Phanar” which meant “lighthouse” in Greek). They get even high positions, as the dragoman of the Porte, who served as a secretary for foreign affairs, and the dragoman of the fleet, who administered the Greek costs and islands as inhabitants of these were obliged to provide the fleet by seamen. (Schevill, 1991, p.305) Therefore the diplomacy and the forces were managed by non-Muslims and non-Turkish people. (For the structure of the Ottoman administration and phanariots’ role in that cf. Gibb and Bowen, 1957, I/ii, pp.207-261, and classical manual on the topic: Runciman, 1968, pp.165-207) In my opinion, it was not only a peculiarity of the Ottoman Empire as an Islam state but, and more, a specificity of every Turkish and nomadic empire, too, for they were conglomerate of miscellaneous tribes. It was not devoted enough attention to the fact, that the power concentrated in the hands of Non-Muslims in Ottoman Empire, it was a remnant of the non-Muslim epoch of the Ottomans. It was quite strange for the original Islam states, i.e. the Arab Caliphates. It was a structure of a strong state which required hard-handed rulers. Let us take for example the Mongol Empire found by Khan Dshingiz (Temudshin). While the Ottoman sultans were enough strong, as Suleiman The Great, or his father Selim, also Mehmed The Conqueror, the semi-Muslim also semi-Nomadic regime functioned well. As the sultans became more and weaker in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Balkans turned into the field of struggles between Slavs and Greeks for their respective national power and culture, under the umbrella of the Ottoman Empire. Thus the Turkish yoke was the main danger in the 15–16th cc. but not in the 17–18th ones when the national awakening was beginning among the East European peoples. As The Greek had better chances due to the

phanariote system they gained more national power than The Serb who had no position in the political administration also in the church one, which was the same since the Turkish Islam state regarded church leaders for the political representatives of the dhimmies (Christians and Jews), regardless the differences between Christian peoples. Therefore it was logical the Greek phanariots destroyed everything and everyone on their way for developing the national Greek culture and Greek Orthodox Church-dominated culture. Though it was clear, the literature in the field was not going along with Temperley and Jireček for the mechanism and evolving the phanariote system had not been enough investigated for a long time. (For the phanariote rule in Bulgaria cf. Voillery, 1986; for evolving the phanariots in the Ottoman Empire Gibb and Bowen, 1957, I/ii, pp.207-261; and the classical manual in the topic: Runciman, 1968, pp.165-207) The Orthodox Greek phanariots were in so closely bond to the Ottoman elite as they often stepped on the way of assimilation. (Sloane, 1908, p.308)

Thus the Western, mostly Roman Catholic authors often forgot the Orthodox Church lived in peaceful connections with the Ottomans while the great enemy for the peoples in the Balkans it was the Roman Catholic Church. (Sherrard, 1959, pp.96-107; Ware, 1964) The Islam rule did not force to convert the Christians in whole (except for the assimilation of phanariots and the devshirme (collecting boys for janissaries), but these were not the way of destroying the Christians), as they served as a good soil for the benefits as taxes, the spahi-lands and alive-taxes. The Christians were able to keep and preserve their customs, way of life, as the Orthodoxy did not mean a mere religion but and rather the framework of the life entirely and the “Pax Ottomanica” provided the safety of the orthodox way of life far more than it would be destroyed by the Catholics. (Cvijić, 1918, p.281; Kitromilides, 1999) The phanariots were extremely well-educated (as extremely rich as well), as they sons studied at universities of Italy and Western Europe; partly thanks to the Greek communities had been living in numerous cities since they settled there in the Antiquity. (Jelavich, 1983, pp.53-55) Thus it was real elite in contrary the “folk-cultured” Orthodoxy characterised the Serbs and Bulgarians. The schools of phanariots in the Balkans were of higher level than those of Armenians even Jews. No wonder the phanariots replaced Jews in the trade, too. (For education of the phanariots abroad and the prominent ones of them cf. Strauss, 1995, pp.191-194, with extremely rich bibliographical notes).

The phanariots kept in their hands the patriarch, too, supporting him by large sums of money, as the positions of church leaders, as bishops, archbishops and even the patriarch became subjects for sale by the turn of 17/18 cc. As it was pointed out by Roucek (1946, p.370) the Patriarchate fell into the power of the phanariots, the wealthy Greeks, who kept the Orthodox Church in their pocket. However, I cannot agree with Roucek when he falsely states out the phanariots persuaded the Sultan to put the whole of the Balkan Church under the power of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This was a different process and went earlier. The church had already organised the lands into dioceses and subdioceses when the Turks conquered the Balkans. Then the well-organised church system was accepted by the Ottoman conquerors as for their administrative and tax-collecting tool. The patriarch was appointed by the new rulers as the head of the Christian millet, he became the millet-basi, had right to use flag with two horsetails (Jelavich, 1983, pp.52-53). Thus the church had full jurisdiction over Christians,

relating to marriage, court and commercial cases, too. It was in a consequence of the role played by the church already in the Byzantine epoch and in the independent Serbian state. The conflict raised when the Greek patriarch had rule over the Slavs and when the Greek phanariots gained the rule over all the Christians even the patriarch as well. It was more than a century later the Balkan was conquered by the Turks. Then, as Roucek was already right, writing that "Slavs who wanted to become priests had to play traitors to their own blood and, if they displeased their masters, they were beaten, as the servants of the Greek clergy, during divine service before silent congregations of their own people. There was also a ruthless campaign against the speaking of the Serbian and Bulgarian languages, and an attempt was made to enforce the use of Greek over the whole of Macedonia, instead of the small southern district to which it had long been limited." (Roucek, 1946, p.370; cf. Temperley, 1917, pp.111-113, pp.123-124)

Since the Ottoman Sultan appointed the patriarch of Constantinople in Istanbul the head of all the Christians, and, the phanariots kept the church and secular power and church leaders in their hands, the Greek clergy became the only Christian also secular establishment for the Bulgarian, Serbian and Macedonian peoples. This brought sad situation for the Serbs. The language of the church was Greek, the higher positions in the church were filled by the Greek, and these were subject for sale, too. Serbian monasteries had to use the Greek language even the monks were Serbs, and the Slavic liturgical books in Serbian monasteries were destroyed. That is, fired by the Greeks, too, not only by the Muslim Turks. In a result, any monk had to learn to read and write in Greek and did not have any chance to acquire the elements of the Slavic church culture even the Cyrillic letters. For the lower stratum of the clergy remained Serbian, it was not a miracle the villains and popes in villages remained under-cultured in Christian dogmas but full of national pride. This poor church kept the Serbian national consciousness even being not so perfect in the beliefs. It must be taken into consideration as it was done by Temperley and a lot of other authors but forgotten by some later historians who wrote their works approaching the topic within too narrow thus false views. The Serbian Church for the Serbs was the only way and place for surviving while the Ottoman Empire gave all the rule to the Greek clergy above the Christians lived on the Balkans. The Serbian nation faced the double oppression, from the one hand by the Ottomans and from the other hand by the Greeks. Therefore those Serbs moved to the Hungarian Kingdom could rid of Greek oppression and had chances to use and develop their Slavic liturgy and Cyrillic letters. (Temperley, 1917, pp.111-113, pp.123-124)

Serbian book-import into Hungary from the Ukrainian Typographies

In contrary to the sad situation on the Balkans, the Serb refugees moved into the Hungarian Kingdom (then part of the Habsburg Empire), had right for free usage their Serbian language, Cyrillic letters and Church Slavic liturgical books in their communities, in which the secular and church local authorities were the same. The constantly complaining Serbs in the Habsburg territories were right as they wrote they had no equal position with the Hungarians mainly the Catholics (Picot, 1873), although they had far better circumstances as those

remained to live on the Balkans. (Schwicker, 1880; Palić, 1995) It was reflected by the provenance of the liturgical books, too. The Serbian parishes in Hungary bought books in the 17–18 cc. from the East Slavic territories, while they did it earlier from the Western typographies. Editions from 16 century are held in the Serbian collections up to nowadays as books from Parish, Tübingen and mostly Venice, but no record about buying books after beginning of the 17 century. (Földvári, 2011) Since the situation on the Balkans became true for the Slavic book-trade. The larger part of books in Serbian parishes, edited in 17 and 18 cc. were printed in West-Ukrainian and Belorussian typographies and, according to the data of provenance, the marginalia, these were bought by Serbs here in Hungary in the 17–18th cc. While the Serbs on the Balkans did not have much chance to get these books in the 17 c, their relatives in the Hungarian Kingdom did. Therefore, the books from East Slavic typographies determined the spiritual and cultural life of the Serbs in Hungary.

Let us take for example the little but important collection of liturgical books being now held in the Archbishopric Library of Veszprém (Centre of the West Hungary). It was not taken into attention of researchers until I went there and described them. (Földvári, 1994; Földvári and Ojtozi, 1995) These books belonged to the Serbian parish in Sósút, next to Buda (then independent part of Budapest). Some books were printed in Venice but in the 15th c. The predominant parts of them were editions of West Ukrainian typographies (Lviv, Pochaev, Unev, Kyiv, etc.) According to the marginalia, those were printed in the West Ukraine were bought here by local Serbs. One of the marginal writings shows to Nikolas Milovanović as a possessor (Földvári and Ojtozi, 1995, No.8, with the photocopy marginal handwriting of this possessor) and another book of him (evidenced by marginalia) is held in the Serbian Orthodox Museum and Library in Szentendre (Saint-Andrew), according to Sindik, Grozdanović-Pajić and Mano-Zisi, 1991. No. 90. (On this possessor cf. Grozdanović Pajić, 1982) The authors of studies on the Szentendre collection and its monograph are of the opinion the Serbs brought by his immigration all the books were printed in South Slav and Italian typographies and, on the other hand, they bought here, in Hungary, all those were printings of the West Ukrainian Typographies. (Sindik, Grozdanović-Pajić and Mano-Zisi, 1991) Therefore the data of possessors evidenced all those were said above that one had to distinguish between the situations of the Serbs in Hungary and the Balkans. What is yet important, Serbs settled in Hungary bought Cyrillic books from the West Ukrainian typographies but not from the Russian ones. Tsarist help as donations of books characterised the Serbian culture in from the end (at least the third quarter) of the 18th century but not earlier.

Although the previous literature in the field maintained the Cyrillic liturgical book were imported from the “Moscovia” i.e. the Tsarist Russia, it seemed to be false. Anton Hodinka was of the opinion that the Russian (in his terminology “Moscovian”) booksellers provided the Slavic peoples in the Habsburg Empire with liturgical books until 1772, when their activity was prohibited by Empress Maria Theresa. (Hodinka, 1890, 1909, 1925) It was criticised by Esther Ojtozi, the master of the study of old printed Cyrillic books held in recent church collections in Hungary. (Ojtozi, 1977-79, 1984) Her follower Sándor Földvári found new data about the Serbs imported liturgical books from the West Ukraine, then part or the Polish Kingdom, according the marginal data on possessors and provenance (Földvári, 1995,

1996, 2000-2001; Földvári-Ojtozi, 1995). Moreover it was evidenced by the archival data on the Serbian community in Eger (North Hungary), held in the Archivum Vetus of the Archbishopric Library of Eger, newly found by Földvári, that even the Orthodox Serbs in Eger bought books from the West Ukrainian typographies though the Carpathian Greek Catholic Ruthenes as transmitters, though being in struggles with the Catholics in Eger, too. (Földvári, 1996, 1997) Although Empress Maria Theresa established the typography of Joseph Kurzböck in Vienna, it did not print so many books as would required for the service, moreover, the Serbs were not likely to purchase these instead of the product of East Slavic typographies. The import of the books printed in West Ukrainian territories remained the main source (Kostić, 1912). The printing Serbian books become important only by the end of 18th and mostly in the first half of the 19th cc, when the Royal Typography in Buda provided Serbs also every Slavic people with books of secular content, thus the late Slavic national awakening centred in Buda but not the early one, which is the subject of this paper (Gavrilović, 1974) However, it is worth to mention the Buda Typography played axial role in evolving of the Slavic national cultures as Peter Király devoted numerous papers and books, too, to this topic (Király, 1973, 1980, 1983, 1985, 1993). The flourishing period of the Serbian national awakening was the 18/19th cc, thus in the 17th c. it was quite enough to provide the liturgy by Slavic books which was entirely impossible on the Balkans (Adler, 1979). It was not only possible but carried out far well, and these books were not only of liturgical items but even tools for transmitting the contemporary secular culture, too. Let us see how it was done.

The circumstances of the West Ukrainian and Belorussian book-printing in the 17–18th cc

As we have seen the predominant part of the Cyrillic books used by the Serbs in the Hungarian Kingdom was of West Ukrainian origin, it is necessary to look through the situation of the book printing in that territories. It would be the best to follow the new investigations by Isaevich, Yaroslav Dmitrovich, who just passed away and whose findings made to rethink all we knew about the topic. (Kasinec, 1974) As for the typographies in Ukraine, they were owned and managed by the civil societies, the so-called brotherhoods (confraternities) and it was the main difference between the Tsarist Pechatnyj dvor in Moscow and the Belarusian and Ukrainian ones. (Isaevich, 1966) These were more market-oriented and flexible, though having more risk, too, moreover, closer to the Polish territories and culture in both geographical and spiritual sense. The enormously large Tsarist typography served for the huge number of churches being as the only one in the Empire, thus not depending on the demands of the market but the requests of the centralised administration of The Emperor. Profit was guaranteed and big, according to the data sources remained in good condition. In a consequence, there was no need to change the shape and inner form of the service books or any will to do it. (Isaevich, 1992, 1996, pp.214-239) Although the content of the liturgical books was strictly determined in the Byzantine rite, the prefaces and afterwards, even the illustrations were subjects to change and good tools for acquiring more costumers, at least to attract their attention. As for the illustrations, the 18th century baroque was

undoubtedly acquainted for the illustrators of liturgical books issued in the Western Ukraine (Zapasko, 1971; Stepovik, 1982). As for the prefaces, it was a remarkable way to use liturgical books for publishing text of a bit more secular character in Moscow, too. The ratio of the civil books was very small, almost zero before the time of reign of Peter the Great. The circles of readers of the civil books were far narrower than the number of users –and listeners– of the liturgical books. Far different was the situation in Western Ukraine and Belorussia, then-parts of the Polish Kingdom. The printings were published in Moscow in enormously large number as commercial products were issued with paying less attention to the requirements of the readers as their expectations were not too great. On contrary, the items printed in Ukrainian and Belarusian typographies were far smaller and more market-oriented. These worked for a bit more educated even enlightened audience than those printed for the believers were living on the large Russian steppe or Siberia (Isaevich, 1978). Therefore, prefaces and afterwards were added to the western printings far more than to those books issued in Moscow. If it was done, the products of the huge Moscow typography were accompanied by such commentary texts in order to give some explanations from or on the initiative of the Holy Synod but not with purposes of acquiring the interest of the audience. Since the audience was given and guaranteed in a large number of parishes along the huge empire, while the liturgical books were only printed in the Petsatnyj Dvor in Moscow. On contrary, the small but flexible western typographies had to gain costumers and printed far more accompanying text than the central typography in Moscow. Moreover, these texts were of higher level, and accompanied by texts as it was likely the Protestant commentaries on the Saint Scripture, therefore it was the way on which the humanism and baroque could influence the literary texts were written with purposes to enlighten the holy ones. (For prefaces and afterwords cf. Demin, 1981; for the texts Titov, 1924, especially p.57, etc, for the western influence.) Last but not least, it was evidenced by records of the Brotherhoods the Serbs gained and purchased their books in significant number. (Isaevich, 2006, pp.200-236) As for the Habsburg Empire, the Serbs did not accept with good will the books printed by Kurzböck in Vienna, moreover, they often refused to use them, and imported books from East Slav territories, mostly from West-Ukraine (then East Poland), through semi-legal or illegal ways. Even Greek merchants works for Serbs as booksellers in the Hungarian Kingdom, while the Greek establishment on the Balkans did not permit such activities. (Kostić, 1923) The further migration of the Serbs and the foundation of the “Nova Srbia” (New Serbia) at the heart of Ukraine in the middle of the 18th century provided the trade and cultural contacts even in the time when Empress Maria Theresa denied the activity of the Slavic booksellers. (For this micro-state of Serbs in Ukrainian territories of Russia cf. the monograph and its further notes: Kostić, 2001, first published 1923.)

Conclusions: the double way of the Serbian national awakening

It was the subject of great debates at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences if the nations were already formed in the 17th century or not. Emil Niederhauser was of the opinion that yes, at least in embryonic forms (Niederhauser, 1977, 1982) If so, the Serbian national consciousness was provided by the books were imported from the West-Ukrainian territories in the 17–18th

cc. It was great to support the Serbian Orthodox culture which had to be regarded not only as a church but a whole atmosphere of preserving the national spirit and heritage (Mylonas, 2003, mainly the Chapter 2, "Orthodoxy and Serbian National Identity", pp.35-72). Though the Greek-oriented authors often forget the Serbs were oppressed by the Greek elite from the time the system of Phanariots evolved. Although it seemed good for Christians the Patriarch became not only the religious but even the secular leader of them, as a head of the millet (Ursinus, 1989), later the unified millet for both Slavic and Greek Christians became a terrene of Greek national awakening and oppressing Serbian and Bulgarian cultures (the Rumanian history is not the subject of this paper, however, the phanariot system was there very strong and ambiguous, too). Serb moved into Hungarian Kingdom by a few waves during the 15–17 cc. They often complained for hurting their rights although their position was far better than that in the Balkans, however, not equal with the Hungarians. They can use the Cyrillic letters and imported books from the East Slav territories, even their popes and teachers were educated there. According to the new investigations in the field, the book-import and personal cultural relations were far stronger with places in then-polish territories, Western Ukraine, than with Russia. The Russian influence got stronger from the end of the 18th century and mostly in the 19th but it is not the subject of this paper. Therefore the early Serbian cultural awakening was provided by books and contacts from Western Ukraine. These books although of liturgical character, contained numerous text commenting the holy liturgy and these commentaries reflected the influences of late renaissance and early baroque, too. The same is true for the illustrations, which took more influence for the users of books. This was the way the Polish culture as transmitter of the Western ideas and styles, influenced the West-Ukrainian books and cultural centres, and though them, the Serbs settled in Hungary, too. Consequently, the way of West-European ideas and culture went not only through Vienna, but curving to Poland, Ukraine and from there to the Slavic People of the Habsburg Empire, as well. This was not so well-seen and remained understudied although this scrambling way of the western culture was more important to the Serbs than the role of Vienna, regarding the early phase of their national awakening. New contributions to this question were made by the author with investigations on the book-collections, and further steps on this way, together with Ukrainian colleagues, seem to be prolific works to evidence the Serbian-Ukrainian contacts as well.*

References

- Adler, P., 1979. Nation and Nationalism among the Serbs of Hungary 1790–1870. *East European Quarterly*, 13. 1979. 3, pp.271-285.
- Brandl, V., 1883. *Život Josefa Dobrovského*. Brno.
- Braude, B., 1982. Foundation myths of the millet system. In: B. Braude and B. Lewis, eds. 1982. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*. Vol. 1. New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publisher, pp.70-75.
- Cvijić, J., 1918. *La Péninsule balkanique*. Paris: Colin.

* The research was supported by the "Wekerle Alapkezelő" No. PC DN 11/2012/015.

- Czigány, L., 1986. *The Oxford History of the Hungarian Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Demin, A. S., 1981. *Тематика и стилистика предисловий и послесловий*. Москва.
- Földvári, S. and Ojtozi, E., 1995. Кириллические книги Веспремской Архиепископской библиотеки и южнославянская миграция в селе Шошкút. *Studia Slavica Savariensia*, vol. 4. 1995. No. 1-2, pp.143-157.
- Földvári, S., 1992. Az Egri Főegyházmegeyei Könyvtár cirill és glagolita nyomtatványai. Старопечатные книги кирилловского и глаголического шрифтов Архиепископской библиотеки г. Эгер. (Северная Венгрия) [Old Cyrillic and Glagolitic Printings of The Archbishopric Library of Eger (North Hungary); in Hungarian, Summary in Russian] Debrecen, 1992. (The catalogue with Ester Ojtozi's contribution) – Reviewed in details by George F. Cushing in *The Slavonic And East European Review*, 1993, pp.502-503.
- Földvári, S., 1994. Adalékok a Veszprémi Érseki Könyvtár cirill könyveinek provenienciakérdéséhez, [Contributions to Questions of Provenance of the Cyrillic Books Held in the Archbishopric Library of Veszprém (West Hungary)], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, vol.110, No.3, pp.307-314. Referenced by May, J. E., 2000. Recent Studies of 18th Century Book Culture. *The East-Central Intelligencer*, n.s. 14, no. 3 (Sept. 2000), pp.58-91 [online] Available at: <www.personal.psu.edu/special/C18/c18-l.htm> Updated version: May, J. E., 2008. Recent Studies of 18th Century Book Culture, 1986–2007, p.42. BIBSITE – The Bibliographical Society of America [pdf] Available at: <www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/May/May-C18-culture.pdf> [Accessed on 15 April 2008].
- Földvári, S., 1995. Фёльдвари, Ш., Старопечатные книги кирилловского и глаголического шрифтов Эгерской архиепископской библиотеки, *Slavica*, Annales Instituti Philologiae Slavicae Universitatis Debreceniensis De Ludovico Kossuth Nominatae, 27, 1995, pp.83-96. Referenced by Magocsi, P. R. and Pop, I., 2002. *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*. University of Toronto Press, ISBN 0802035663, p.111 [online] Available at: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/9781442674431>>
- Földvári, S., 1996. Фёльдвари, Ш., Стародруки кириличного шрифту в римо-католицьких бібліотеках Угорщини. In: О. Мишанич, ed. 1996. *Третій Міжнародний Конгрес Україністів 26-29 серпня, 1996*. Літературознавство, Бібліографія, Інформатика; Харків: Доповіді та повідомлення, pp.188-192. ISBN 966 526 016 2.
- Földvári, S., 1997. Фёльдвари, Ш., Памятники обучения закарпатских грекокатолических русинов в г. Эгер [Records on The Education of The Subcarpathian Rusyn Clergy in Eger.] In: E. Lendvai and L. Hajzer, eds. 1997. *Slavica Quinqueecclesiensia III. A szláv nyelvek oktatásának elmélete és gyakorlata*. Nemzetközi konferencia anyaga (Pécs, 1996, április 26–27) [Proceedings of The Third Conference on Theory and Practice of Teaching of The Slavic Languages, held in Pécs 26–27 April, 1996] Pécs: Krónika, pp.236-240. ISSN 1218 800X.
- Földvári, S., 2001. Cirill liturgikus könyvek provenienciális kérdései. Hodinka koncepciója az újabb kutatások tükrében. *Könyv és Könyvtár: A Debreceni Egyetem Egyetemi és Nemzeti Könyvtárának Évkönyve*, pp.22-23; pp.193-209. [Provenience of the Old-Printed Cyrillic Books Being Held in Church Libraries of the Former Hungarian Kingdom: Anton Hodinka's Conception as Reflected by the Latest Research, abstract in English, p.209. Annals of The University And National Library of Debrecen].

- Földvári, S., 2011. A Magyar Királyság szláv etnikumú ortodox parókiáinak liturgikus-könyv importja – mint a keleti s nyugati kereszténység koraújkori kapcsolatainak tükrözője. [Provenance of the Old Printed Liturgical Books, Held in the Orthodox Parishes in the Former Hungarian Kingdom: Evidences of the Contacts between the Western and Eastern Christianity] In: T. Doncsev, I. H. Tóth and K. Menyhárt, eds. 2011. *Magyarország és a Balkán vallási és társadalmi kapcsolatai. Tanulmánykötet Ohridi Szent Naum halálának 1100 évfordulója emlékére*. Обществени и религозни врѝзки между Унгарија и Балканите [Social and Religious Contacts between Hungary and the Balkans: Studies for the 1100th Anniversary of the Death of Saint Naum of Ohrid]. Budapest: Bolgár Kulturális Fórum. Български Културен Форум [Bulgarian Cultural Forum], pp.192-207. Abstracts in Bulgarian and English, pp.207-209.
- Gavrilović, N., 1974. Гавриловић, Н., *Историја ћирилских штампарија у Хабзбуршкој монархији у XVIII веку*. Нови Сад.
- Gibb, H. A. R. and Bowen, H., 1957. *Islamic Society and the West*. Oxford.
- Grozdanović-Pajić, M., 1982. Гроздановић-Пајић, М., *Ретки водени знаци у рукопису из Сентандрејских библиотеке*. Археографски прилози, pp.83-99.
- Hadrovics, 1991. *L'Église serbe sous la domination turque*. Paris, 1947. (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Comparée, VI.) Its translation into Hungarian was issued without bibliography, even though without any note on the development of researches in the field, Budapest: Slavic Dept. of Eötvös University.
- Hodinka, A., 1890. Erdélyben és Oláhországban megjelent ó-szláv nyomtatványok. *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 15. 1890. 1-2, pp.106-126.
- Hodinka, A., 1909. *A munkácsi görög-katholikus püspökség története*. Budapest.
- Hodinka, A., 1925. Muszka könyvtárak hazánkban 1711–1771. In: I. Lukinich, ed. 1925. *Emlékkönyv gróf Klebersberg Kunó negyedszázados politikai működésének emlékére*. Budapest, pp.427-436.
- Isaevich, J. D., 1966. Исаєвич, Я. Д., *Братства та їх роль в розвитку української культури XVI–XVIII ст.* Київ: Наукова думка.
- Isaevich, J. D., 1978. Исаєвич, Я. Д., *Круг читательских интересов городского населения Украины в XVI–XVIII вв.* Федеровские чтения, 1976. Москва, pp.71-73.
- Isaevich, J. D., 1987. Исаєвич, Я. Д., *Послесловия мосеевских изданий Ивана Федорова как литературные памятники*. Федоровские чтения, 1983. Москва, pp.54-63.
- Isaevich, J. D., 1992. Early Modern Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine: Culture and Cultural Relations. *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 17, No. 1-2, pp.17-28.
- Isaevich, J. D., 1993. Books and Book Printing in Ukraine in the Sixteenth and the First Half of the Seventeenth Centuries. *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*. Updated version in: Isaevich, J. D., 1996, pp.214-239.
- Isaevich, J. D., 1994. The book trade in Eastern Europe in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*. Updated version: Isaevich, J. D., 1996, pp.241-260.
- Isaevich, J. D., 1996. Исаєвич, Я. Д., *Україна давня і нова: Народ, релігія, культура*. (Ukraine, Old and New: People, Religion, Culture). Lviv.
- Isaevich, J. D., 2002. Исаєвич, Я. Д. *Українське книговидання: витоки, розвиток, проблеми*. Львів.

- Isaevich, J. D., 2005. Pan-Slavism in Ukraine and elsewhere: Past and Present. In: G. B. Bercoff and G. Lami, eds. 2005. *Ukraine's Reintegration into Europe: a Historical, Historiographical and Politically Urgent Issue*. Alessandria.
- Isaevich, J. D., 2006. *Voluntary Brotherhood: Confraternities of Laymen in Early Modern Ukraine*. Chapter 5, The Publishing Activities of the Confraternities. Edmonton-Toronto, pp.200-236, bibliography pp.270-303.
- Jagić, V., 1885. *Briefwechsel zwischen Dobrowský und Kopitar (1808–1828)*. Sanktpeterburg, CVII, p.751.
- Jagić, V., 1897. *Neue Briefe von Dobrovský, Kopitar und anderen Süd- und Westslaven*. Berlin.
- Jelavich, B., 1983. *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century, Vol-1, The Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge – New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Jireček, C., 1876. *Geschichte der Bulgaren*. Prague.
- Karpat, K. H., 1982. Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era. In: B. Braude and B. Lewis, eds. 1982. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*. New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publisher, Vol. 1, pp.141-169.
- Karpat, K. H., 1997. The Balkan National States and Nationalism: Image and Reality. *Islamic Studies* 36 (1997), pp.82-104.
- Kasinec, E., 1974. Jaroslav Isajevych as Historian of the Ukrainian Book. *Recenzija*, vol. 5, 1974, N 1. Reprinted in: Kasinec, E., 1984. *Slavic Books and Bookmen: Papers and Essays*. New York.
- Király, P., 1973. Die slawische Mundarten in Ungarn und die ungarlandischen Druckwerke in slawischen Sprachen. *Studia Slavica Hungarica*, 19. 1-4, pp.148-164.
- Király, P., ed. 1983: *Typographia Universitatis Hungaricae Budae, 1777–1848*. Budapest.
- Király, P., 1980. Die ersten Schulbücher der Ofner Universitätsdruckerei in sprachlicher und orthographischer Hinsicht. *Studia Slavica Hungarica*, 26. 1980. 1-4, pp.307-324.
- Király, P., 1985. The Role of Buda University Press in Development of Orthography and Literary Languages. In: G. Stone and D. Worth, eds. 1985. *The Formation of Slavonic Literary Languages*. Columbus (Ohio): Slavica Publishers.
- Király, P., 1993. *National Endeavors in Central and Eastern Europe. As Reflected in the Publications of the University Press of Buda 1777–1848*. Budapest.
- Kitromilides, P. M., 1999. Orthodox Culture and Collective Identity in the Ottoman Balkans During the Eighteenth Century. *Oriente Moderno, Nuova Serie*, vol. (79) 18, 1999, Nr. 1, "The Ottoman Empire In The eighteenth Century", pp.131-145.
- Kostić, M., 1912. Костић, М., *Рускосрпска књижевна трговина Терезијанског доба*. Срем. Карловци.
- Kostić, M., 1923. Костић, М., Српска насеља у Русији – Нова Србија и Славеносрбија. *Српски Етнографски Зборник*. Београд, vol. 26, No. 1, pp.135-327. Reprinted as updated: Kostić, M., 2001.
- Kostić, M., 2001. Мита К., *Нова Србија и Славеносрбија, Српско-Украјинско Друштво*. First published in Beograd: Kostić, M., 1923.
- Krbec, M. and Laiske, M., 1970. *Bibliographie der Veröffentlichungen von Josef Dobrovský*. Prague.

- Markovich, S. G., 2011. Dositey Obradovich: The man who introduced modernity to the Serbs. *The South Slav Journal*, Vol.30. No. 3-4, pp.117-118, pp.5-27.
- Mylonas, C., 2003. *Serbian Orthodox Fundamentals: The Quest for an Eternal Identity*. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press.
- Molnár, A., 2008. A szerb orthodox egyház és az uniós kísérletek a 17. században [The Serbian Orthodox Church and Attempts to the Union in the 17th century; in Hungarian]. In: A. Molnár, 2008. *Elfelejtett végvidék: tanulmányok a hódoltsági katolikus művelődés történetéből* [Forgotten Borderland: Studies in the History of the Catholic Culture in the Time of the Ottoman Occupation]. Budapest: Balassi, pp.76-90.
- Niederhauser, E., 1965. The Problems of Bourgeois Transformation in Eastern and South Eastern Europe. In: D. Csáthi, L. Katus, and Á. Rozsnyói, eds. 1965. *Nouvelles études historiques publiées à l'occasion du XIIIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques par la Commission Nationale des Historiens Hongrois. 2 vols.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, pp.565-580.
- Niederhauser, E., 1982. *The Rise of Nationality in Eastern Europe*. Budapest. (First ed. in Hungarian: *A nemzeti megújulási mozgalmak Kelet-Európában*. Budapest, 1977)
- Ojtozi, E., 1984. Ойтози, Э., Фонды книг кирилловской печати XV-XVIII вв. нескольких библиотек Венгерской Народной Республики. Феодоровские чтения 1980. Москва, pp.123-125.
- Ojtozi, E., 1979. *Kirchenslawische Bücher aus der Klosterbibliothek zu Máriapócs, 1-2*. Debrecen.
- Orosz, L., 1982. The Hungarian Enlightenment and the Classicist Movement. In: T. Klaniczay, ed. 1982. *A History of Hungarian Literature*. Budapest: Corvina, pp.117-165.
- Palić, M., 1995. *Srbi u Mađarskoj–Ugarskoj do 1918*. Novi Sad.
- Picot, E., 1873. *Les Serbes de Hongrie*. Prague.
- Pogačnik, J., 1978. *Bartholomäus Kopitar: Leben und Werk*. München.
- Pogačnik, J., 1977. *Jernej Kopitar*. Ljubljana.
- Popović, M., 1964. *Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864)*. Beograd.
- Pražák, R., 1893. Zur problematik der Aufklärung und der Anfänge der sogenannten nationalen Wiedergeburt in Mitteleuropa. In: H. H. Bartens, 1983. *Sprache und Volk im 18. Jahrhundert*. Symposium in Reinhausen bei Göttingen 3-6. Juli 1979. Frankfurt-am-Main – Bern, pp.125-138. (Opuscula Fennougrica Gottingensia)
- Roucek, J. S., 1946. The Geopolitics of the Balkans. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp.365-377.
- Runciman, S., 1968. *The Great Church in Captivity*. Cambridge.
- Sayer, D., 1996. The Language of Nationality and the Nationality of Language: Prague 1780–1920. *Past and Present* No.153 (1), pp.164-210 [pdf] Available at: <<http://past.oxfordjournals.org/content/153/1/164.full.pdf+html>> [Accessed on 13 August 2013] DOI: 10.1093/past/153.1.164.
- Schevill, F., 1991. *A history of the Balkans*. New York: Dorset Press.
- Schwicker, J. H., 1880. *Politische Geschichte der Serben in Ungarn*. Budapest.
- Sherrard, P., 1959. *The Greek East and the Latin West*. Oxford.

- Sindik, N. P., Grozdanović-Pajić, M. and Mano-Zisi, K., 1991. Синдик, Н. Р., Грозданови-Пajiћ, М. и Мано-Зиси, К., *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига Библиотеке Српске Православне епархије Будимске у Сентандреји*. Београд – Нови Сад.
- Sloane, W. M., 1908. Turkey in Europe. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 2 pp.297-319.
- Stepovik, D., 1982, Степовик, Д., *Українська графіка XVI-XVII століть: Еволюція образної системи*. Київ.
- Strauss, J., 1995. The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th–20th Centuries). *Die Welt des Islams, New Series*, Vol. 35, Issue 2, pp.189-249.
- Temperley, H. W. V., 1969. *History of Serbia*. London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd. 1917, reprinted by Howard Fertig Inc. Edition: New York.
- Titov, H., 1924. Тітов, Хв., *Матеріали для історії книжної справи на Україні: Всього передмов до українських стародруків*. Київ.
- Ursinus, M., 1989. Zur diskussion um “millet” im Osmanischen Reich. *Südost-Forschungen*, 48, pp.195-207.
- Voillery, P., 1986. Entre Russie et Bulgarie: Contribution à l’histoire de la première église bulgare de Constantinople 1847–1859. *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, Vol. 27, No. 3-4, pp.417-460.
- Ware, T., 1964. *Eustratios Argenti: A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule*. Oxford.
- Zapasko, Y., 1971. Запаско, Я., *Мистецтво книни на Україні XVI-XVII століть*. Львів.

The research was supported by the “Wekerle Alapkezelő” No. PC DN 11/2012/015.